1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

192 BOTHER, *v.t.* To annoy; to approach sexually with or without the object's willingness; to meddle with something; to disturb; to coerce.
BULLSHIT, *n.* Nonsense; a lie.
CAN'T, *id.* Will not; won't; may not; don't want to, as, "I can't do that."
GRUB, *n.* Any food received from white source other than meat.
HE, *pron.* He; she; it.
HIM, *pron.* Him; her; it.
LOTS, *adj.* Many. As, "Lots of people."
MUST BE, *id.* Probably.
NEVER, *adv.* Not for some time, as, "I never hunt"; not ever.
NEWS, *n.* Unfavorable report, as, "to hear his news"; gossip; information.
NOTHING, *n.* Anything; as, "I never see nothing"; no.
PACK, *v.t.* To carry; to load, as, "to pack dogs"; to steal; to carry off.

196 Obviously all of these as well as all other words carry specific connotations for the Kaska which are sometimes different from their meanings in American speech. Thus a word like "lots," denoting "many," may be used to refer to a group of ten persons with the emotional expression that we would reserve for a mob of hundreds.

191 Several cases of speech defect were noted. One girl, eight years old, stuttered slightly. A young man was pointed out as speaking little and as being unable to command the communication of sentences of any length. The defect was regarded with amusement and was even joked about in the young man's presence. Cases of deafness and mutism were also reported.[13]

195 For insults and vituperation, recourse is generally had to English. The use of such terms is stilted, as though there were no clear realization of their meaning. In situations of emotional stress, delivery is more rapid and under such conditions speakers also manifest a tenseness of the body, including the face, which affects the vocal cords.

201 The Kaska Indians are not a gesticulating people, and the number of socially patterned gestures are relatively limited. Anger is expressed by frowning and by a narrowing of the eyes; shame and embarrassment, by covering the face with the hands and turning away the head. The latter gesture is most common among girls, being rarely used by boys and men. The explanation offered for the gesture was that the feeling of self-consciousness and shame is so intense that the individual does not want others to see her face. Affection, particularly between young people, either of the same or opposite sex, is generally expressed tactually but not by kissing. When the ethnographer's two year old daughter sought to kiss Ann Wiley (6), the latter demurred and cried, "Shame!" When the attempt was repeated, Ann sought to distract the younger girl by calling her attention to something else. Mirth and exuberance (the latter rarely) are released in infectious laughter. Acute hostility may be expressed in refusing to talk to, or look upon, a person, as well as by a sullen, dark facial expression. These are the most common signs used to communicate emotional states, although there are other socially patterned means for the individual to express more personal emotional states. Further discussion of emotional expression is reserved for a later section.

537 In narration, the hands and arms are sometimes used to aid communication. Thus to de-

[13] See also the discussion of linguistic theory; below, p. 230.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

scribe the progress of a boat in rough water, the hand dips up and down as the arm is slowly moved from one side of the speaker's body to the other. Shooting of a gun is illustrated by holding the left hand close to the speaker's face, the fingers close together touching the thumb. The other arm is outstretched, the fingers held in the same position and directly in line with the left hand. When the speaker mentions the gun being fired, he spreads out the fingers of both hands in a quick, flaring, movement.

An obscene sign frequently demonstrated by boys and sometimes by girls is made by clenching the fist with the thumb inserted under the index finger. This signifies coitus. In dancing hand pressing is often used as an erotic overture. A number of conventionalized gestures are used in the gambling game, including the indication of number by raising the corresponding number of fingers. Other signs include shaking the head up or down in affirmation or from side to side to express negation. The arms are used to express size. The left arm is stretched out, palm sideways, and size indicated with the right hand being placed at a right angle to the appropriate point. The point where the index finger joins the palm is marked off to indicate small size; the inside of the elbow or close to the shoulder are points marked off to show larger dimensions. To indicate height, the arm is outstretched palm sideways, the thumb slightly raised and the fingers close together. Height is indicated by the lowest portion of the hand. Nudging may sometimes be used for communication as, for example, to demand silence.

Aboriginally the Kaska possessed no writing. The syllabaries introduced somewhere in the Athapaskan area by Catholic and Protestant missionaries were not developed in the Cassiar. Traders took the pains to teach a few individuals to read and write simple words, but only a score or so Indian men are literate and less than half a dozen women. Today most children of from seven to fifteen receive a few weeks of instruction in writing and reading each summer in the Catholic mission school. Adults set a high value on literacy and many parents express the desire that their children master these abilities so that they will be able to write simple messages to the traders, read bills, and otherwise help the older generation adjust to modern conditions. Young children do not often share these attitudes, but some young men, like Nitla, spend several hours a week laboriously trying to learn to write words and coherent sentences. Several times Nitla asked the ethnographer for lists of familiar words such as the terms for commodities, local place names, and stock phrases ("I am going hunting,") which he could copy when the need arose.

Simple journals, often little more than calendars marking off the passage of the days and months, are kept by several young men. They contain brief notations of outstanding events (arrival of visitors, hunting data, departure from the trading post, etc.). Sometimes the writer forgets to enter a day in his journal and then his calendar is awry. Excerpts from the journal kept by Harry Lang in 1940 are given below; the original spelling and punctuation are preserved. Bracketed words are the ethnographer's.

Aug. 1.th 1940 Stay at Lower Post, yet.
Aug. 2.th 1940 Start from Lower Post
Aug. 3.th 1940 At [Joe] place. We camp.
Aug. 4.th 1940 Start camp at Frances River.
Aug. 5.th 1940 We get Home upper [Old Man] Creek.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

834 ever, they kept their voices low and maintained a cautious watch to prevent interruption. While alcohol still further reduces a man's sexual inhibitions, there is evidence to believe that this process takes much longer in the girl. The belief that girls will readily succumb to sexual advances when intoxicated could not be verified. Unless people are intoxicated, little
[831] direct attention is paid to sex. Obscenity is limited, and mainly expressed in gestures. Discussion of sexual processes tends to be avoided.

832 Three types of sexual stimulation may be noted and usually follow in sequence. These are communication by means of conventional signs, teasing and rough-housing, and, finally, a direct sexual approach involving the genitals. All of these types of approach are distinguished by the fact that they do not rely on words; as we shall show, the whole sexual episode can easily be executed without speech.

832 The principal conventional signs serving to manifest sexual interest are winking and
201 hand pressing. The latter is a common means for boys (and sometimes girls) to express sexual attention toward a dancing partner. Agreement to the invitation implied in the gesture is indicated if the partner returns the pressure. In many women the sign (although it may be returned) provokes a storm of real or affected embarrassment. Pinching the face and thighs are other gestures used to manifest sexual interest.

832 Among young unmarried people, teasing and rough-housing are the commonest ways of sexual stimulation, serving as a means of overcoming the difficulties related to a verbal sexual approach. Obviously a direct solicitation to coitus would not succeed in the society since, under such circumstances, most unmarried girls would immediately run away in embarrassment or fail to respond. Furthermore direct sexual solicitation would be embarrassing to the boy. Teasing and rough-housing are usually limited to nighttime, when boys encounter girls in Lower Post or around a house where a dance is in progress. Often girls initiate these actions. It is interesting to note the inception of the behavior in fourteen or fifteen year old girls, who throw bits of orange peel at young men in the safety of daylight and run off laughing as the boys threaten to catch them. Such provocation is, of course, not yet clearly sexual. At night couples often slap at each other with willow branches, push one another, or girls try to snatch boys' hats. All such actions soon lead to the girl's running off with the boy in pursuit. When the boy has caught her, usually with the girl's consent, the couple will wrestle until one or the other is thrown down. In this wrestling the boy manifests the first direct sexual approach to the girl.

As we have indicated, the third form of sexual stimulation, a direct sexual approach involving the genitals, follows a period of teasing and rough-housing and comes when the young people have moved far enough away from other people to be safe from observation. It is usually reserved until the boy has caught his partner in a dark, secluded place, preferably in thick bush. Sometimes it occurs in any social situation when intoxicated boys (more rarely a bold, intoxicated girl) initiate such behavior regardless of observers. Boys normally experience some hesitation in advancing to this form of stimulation, unless they
[571] feel sure that the girl will not resist too strongly. Should several boys operate in a group much less consideration of the girl's possible resistance obtains. Generally, some indication of the girl's willingness has already appeared in her teasing or, more importantly, is indicated when she allows herself to be caught. Direct stimulation usually involves a boy touch-

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

exposed portion. Meat is particularly wearing on teeth, grub tending to sharpen them. "Sweet stuff" may induce tooth decay, which is also influenced by the inheritance of poor dental equipment. The brain is the seat of intelligence, thought, and reason. Mental capacity is primarily derived from parents as a product of heredity. §26 §27

The most important of the internal organs are the liver, stomach, heart, and lungs. Injury to the liver may produce death. The liver also functions in coitus, the sexual act fortifying that organ and keeping it "black." Prolonged sexual abstinence may cause the liver to become white and sick. If the stomach swells, injury to the liver is often suspected, while injury to the former organ is greatly feared lest its occurrence be followed by fatal damage to the liver. The heart is compared to a watch or clock; besides being the seat of emotion, it is a regulator of life and once it stops beating death is inevitable. A damaged heart can never be completely restored to normal functioning. The lungs are organs of breathing, and in this task are closely related to the activity of the heart, permitting the latter organ to perform its regulatory activity.

With regard to the surface of the body, a thick skin is beneficial because it is less easily broken than a thin surface. Skin color is both inherited and environmentally conditioned, the dark skin of the Indians being regarded as produced by a combination of such factors as heredity, an excessive amount of meat in the diet, and persistent exposure to sunlight.

Reactions to bodily processes. Urination as well as defecation are, as has already been indicated, activities to which people usually attend in privacy. Urine is regarded as the product of ingested liquids, which pass through the stomach and thence out through the genito-urinary system. The yellow color of human urine is the result of drinking tea; water is said to produce a colorless flow. Feces are the final product of ingested and digested food. The odor of the feces is brought about by their stay and decay in the body's hot interior. Constipation is caused by poor digestion, the stomach and intestines not "grinding up" food quickly enough. The feces may be hard when a man has eaten tough meat, and in that condition their passage may cause bleeding. Loose stools are the result of eating soft foods. Gas accumulated in the stomach and intestines is released through farting. Persistent farting follows overeating. Most people are careful not to fart in company and teach children to control this reaction. §27

Dermal reactions, such as itching, are produced by skin irritations or lice. In the case of irritations, scratching should be avoided in order to prevent the infection from spreading. No shame is attached to scratching. Blushing occurs when the blood rushes to the face. It may occur in both sexes as the result of shame or anger but is most common in girls and women. Fever is believed to come from white men but is also regarded as a condition arising from "too strong" blood. When perspiration results from strenuous activity, it constitutes a loss of the water contained in the blood. Too great perspiration makes a man weak. In illness, sweating represents an attempt of the body to rid itself of disease.

Facial reactions reveal the individual's predominant disposition and transitory moods. Smiling occurs when a person "feels good"—"he think about skin." Laughter is thought to be most common in young people, who are quick to respond to a joke. A man who is half old, however, is no longer so ready to laugh. Laughter is also related to idleness and good health, so that when a man is working or ill, he has little inclination to exercise this faculty. §28 §27 201

I: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

827 Frowning is a sign of anger or disapproval. Sneezing could not be explained to the informant and, in fact, was not observed among the Kaska.

827 Sneezing and a running nose are generally symptomatic of a cold, although sneezing sometimes indicates that a person will receive good news. The nasal discharge originates between the eyes at the head of the nose. A running nose is preferred to nasal congestion and consequent shortness of breath, which may, it is thought, lead to death.

Among ocular and auricular reactions, weeping is regarded as caused by sadness and depression. Winking is a voluntary response with humorous and sexual overtones. Ringing in the ears constitutes a phenomenon likely to occur when a man is too much alone, but may also be produced by accumulated ear wax. "Seeing stars" may be brought about by excessive heat or a disordered stomach as, for example, a stomach poisoned from bad water.

No ideas of shame or embarrassment are attached to most oral reactions, a person feeling free anywhere to hiccough, yawn, or eat, although most people refrain from spitting on a lumber floor. There is some self-consciousness about coughing in a strange camp, for fear that the owner will consider the response "dirty" or unhygienic. Hiccoughing is the result of an overstuffed stomach, which causes some food to lodge in the esophagus, blocking the passage of wind and causing air to be taken in huge sudden gulps. Hiccoughing is sometimes regarded as an omen of good luck, promising meat or fur. No means is known for relieving this condition. Yawning is a sign of fatigue, but may also be a product of hunger and consequent weakness. It is relieved by a cup of tea. Spitting is regarded as ridding a person of excess mucus secreted by the nose and mouth. Its prevalence has already been discussed. Constriction or irritation of the throat, such as may come from smoking, leads to coughing, although sometimes this reaction originates from a disturbed stomach. Swallowing the "wrong way" is dangerous, because it may result in food being carried into the lungs where it may decay; "pretty soon man die."

827 Vocalization, or speech ability, appears when a child becomes half smart. Shortly after birth, however, a mother may wipe her index finger around the baby's mouth to insure that the child will not be mute. As the child grows, he begins to make meaningful sounds and finally, informants said, begins to imitate words uttered by the parents. In this way language is acquired by each successive generation. The people believe their own language easier to learn than English.[1]

827 Digestion is primarily pronounced by the stomach grinding up food. The intestines continue the digestive process by further grinding. Illness results if, for any reason, the digestive ability of the stomach becomes impaired. Digestion renews the blood—"cleans" it. If this

[1] A mythological account of the origin of linguistic diversity offered by Hide is interesting because of the fact that it is almost an exact transcription of the Eleventh Chapter of Genesis. The myth follows: Originally all the people spoke only one language and there were only whites people. They piled a great structure up in the air trying to reach the sky. Then the whites people went to sleep, planning to finish the tower on the following day and rise through the sky. During the night the pole they had erected collapsed. "They can't make it up there. They make trouble. The pile skids down everything. Tomorrow try we talk this fellow, he can't make understand nothing what you say. Another fellow say, Can't hear nothing. All men different talk." Gradually groups of people withdrew and sought two continue the language of one of their members. These groups were begun to disperse to different countries and there further developed their languages. At this time too the Cree and Wolf societies developed and the Indians became distinguished from white people.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

157 F181 G35
157 F181 G201
157 A181

raised and lowered the feet, while keeping the bent arms close to the torso. Such constriction of movement seems partly motivated by the need to preserve emotional isolation.[28]

Coughing may also be understood as a means of withdrawing from a social situation whose pressure is found disconcertingly intense or embarrassing. As a reaction to this pressure a person becomes more concerned with himself and perceives, as Fenichel points out, a functional dryness of the throat.[29] Coughing serves to release the tension induced by the social situation and may afford an opportunity for the inhibition of speech—for example, a person need not answer an embarrassing question.

Together with the tendency to remain aloof from disturbing situations which threaten the resources of the personality, a related objective of the detached person is to bridge the gap separating him from others. We have already discussed attitudes toward warm human relations in connection with deference and dependence. For the former motive it was pointed out that by avoiding hostility the Kaska do not so much seek love as they avoid the loss of love, while dependency produces ambivalent feelings in a person who fears that the care and protection he desires undermine his self-sufficiency. To these difficulties, that stand in the way of the egocentric personality's search for love, we must now add the anxiety which warm human relations invite because of their conflict with emotional isolation. Withdrawal of love in childhood not only sets up a barrier against any close interpersonal relationships but also instigates unconscious "affect hunger," or a search for the unacceptable satisfaction of affection.[30] Passive receptive (oral) trends, expectation of secondary gains from illness, and a reputation for generosity are some previously mentioned means by which the Kaska seek to satisfy affectional insatiety. One oral trend of pronounced emotional significance, alcoholic drinking, deserves further consideration. If the Kaska child's emotional rejection sets up affect hunger, we can understand the role ascribed to alcoholic intoxication as dulling "the pain of loneliness and [putting] the alcoholic in a state where he can fantasy love, at least."[31] The idea of reincarnation may also serve to fulfill unconsciously the unstilled longing to overcome personal isolation. Such a belief, it has been pointed out, may be a symbolic means of fulfilling persistent longings to bridge the gap between mother and child and to deny the even more final interpersonal isolation that follows death.[32] Ambivalent attempts to assuage affect hunger through sexual relations will be discussed below in connection with sexual constriction. Before we can adequately comprehend the phenomena of sexual constriction in the light of emotional detachment, we must review what has already been said about the relations of men and women, adding emotional isolation to the other motives entering into these relationships.

Relations between men and women. We have pointed out that Kaska men are expected to be self-reliant to a degree where they will be able self-confidently and resourcefully to provide food and fur and perform other services required by the family. The anxiety, how-

[28] Reichard has pointed out that physical restraints of artistic creation are ethnologically related to the broader cultural context. She remarks astute on aspects of culture that Iatmul behavior bears largely neglected. Reichard, G., Creative and Reluctant Art. Lectures delivered at the Yale Art Gallery, Spring, 1946.

[29] Fenichel, The Psychoanalytic Theory of Coughing (1935).

[30] Levy, Primary Affect Hunger (1937). See also Fromm, Escape From Freedom (1941), 29-30.

[31] English and Pearson, Emotional Problems of Living (1945), 95.

[32] Deutsch, Psychology of Women, II. Motherhood (1945), 279. See also Ford, A Comparative Study of Human Reproduction (1945), 30.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

of a child (first born?) with a meal to which friends were invited. The first game killed by a youth also became the occasion for a "party." A wealthy man honored his daughter in the same way when she attained menarche or married. Marriage feasts often constituted potlatches, at which the bride's mother aided by her brothers and sisters presented gifts of manufactured objects to the members of the opposite matrilineal moiety. While no elaborate death feast took place a memorial potlatch followed about a year after the death.[6] In winter people enjoyed the Biggest Cache Feast, presented by a man who owned a particularly rich meat cache. Huge quantities of cooked ground hog and gopher and birch-bark dishes filled with grease were served to the guests. Perhaps serving as a hint for someone to provide lavish entertainment, members of the Crow moiety occasionally arranged a mock feast. When the invited guests assembled they found very little food available, "just a bite for everybody." Amused, the guests exclaimed, "A Wolverine Party!" One moiety or the other would then usually announce a more satisfying repast.

The origin of the potlatch is explained in the following tale.

A girl was pregnant. When she was ready to have her baby she went into seclusion behind the dwelling. Here one day as the sun was setting her father heard her talking and laughing. "ve people did not know that she had given birth to a monster. The girl returned to her parents but the monster grew large and ate many people. He was almost a hundred feet long and had a great, wide mouth. Everybody wanted to kill the thing but nobody was able to do so. One day the people sent the girl away. That is when they killed the monster. When the mother returned she cried like hell because this had been her child. The girl cried so much that the old man became frightened. So the old man made a big potlatch and gave away many things. Pretty soon the girl felt better. Since then the Indians had a potlatch everytime somebody died.

To prepare a potlatch a host first had to secure sufficient quantity of manufactured goods and food that could be distributed. While some of the objects came from members of the donor's matrilineal moiety and need not be repaid, the responsibility for some of the contributions rested with the potlatcher and his family. The distribution of many fine things and large amounts of food won prestige for a man. From such behavior he won the reputation of being a "big man." But only a very capable hunter could acquire enough meat and skins to provide an elaborate give-away. Previous to the party the assembled wealth lay displayed in the dwelling on a mat of rawhide or a bear skin. The potlatcher then proceeded to invite his guests, all members of the opposite moiety. A small ceremony was attached to the invitation. The host, visiting a guest's house, planted his walking stick inside the entry and uttered the syllable, "nix!"[6] The visitors assembled in the potlatch house where brothers and sisters of the potlatcher served them food. After they had finished eating the host distributed gifts through his assistants. There occurred much joking at this stage of the proceedings. For example, a server, following the typical Athapaskan pattern of humor, would pretend to throw a visitor's present

[6] See below, p. 139, for details of a "small" death feast.

[6] Messenger sticks have been described for the Nunivak Eskimo. Here they were used by the message carrier who invited people to a social climbing feast. (Lantis, *Social Culture of the Nunivak Eskimo* [1946], 188.) The distribution of similar insignia among the Eskimo of Alaska is discussed in the same writer's *Alaskan Eskimo Ceremonialism* [1947], 69-72.) The trait is not mentioned in Drucker's check list of the Pacific Coast. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1938).